262 The grubs (ɔm´nol) of horseflies and of bees were eaten; the bees were smoked out with a damp tule smudge. The ground wasp (po'a´onai) larva was said to be eaten by the Telamni (it was scarce in the tular). This was called [252] tapɨsi, was roasted on coals and eaten with acorn mush. Caterpillars (mane´ča) were skinned (singed?) and eaten.

[225] Turtles (ṭu´ñkot) were plentiful. They were stabbed under the throat with a sharp stick, put on hot coals, and roasted; then the shell was broken off and the larger entrails were discarded.

226 A great variety of fish was available for all the lake people. The Chunut informant 262 spoke of the following. "Greaser" fish (tawa´'at) was a black fish with a large head and small body. The chub (tu´konu) had "fat all over his tail." The steelhead (?) or "lake trout" was called e´pɨs. The brook trout (?) (so´lul) was colorless save for a red edge on its forked tail. The minnows or young of any fish were called ta´hɨs. Salmon (da´ṭu) were well known and greatly depended upon, but eels were said to appear only at Sanger on the Kings River. A certain fish (u´duṭ) had a large head like a catfish but was not the same thing, for catfish were called tamṭa´na "because he has whiskers" (tamu´tanin, whiskers he has). The crayfish (keṭa´keṭat) were common, as were water mussels (ka´pap, the shells; ṭa´sɨp, the flesh). Abalones (ṭo´nɨk) were known only by their shells which were brought in from the coast.

226 Fishnets (to´noi) were dragged between the shore, where one end was fastened, and a balsa which moved in an arc toward the shore. Diving for fish was a common practice, as in the foothills. The Tachi procured fish for Estudillo by diving with hand nets.

At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs...Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel [Kings] River. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving [147] quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three.[36]

A corral (wise´'i) for catching fish was made in shallow waters by setting up button-willow stakes and intertwining them with tules. Persons waded about with baskets catching up the fish which others drove into the corral. This method of fishing was seen by Mayfield, whose description is included for its graphic qualities. It appears that it was the Choinimni who used the weir while at the lake.

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[36] Gayton, Estudillo, 78.

[P. 15b] Tachi

226 278 Fish poison (yaoha) was made from a white flower which was pulverized and thrown over quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called t:'l:l, was mentioned by M.G.

223 Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

> Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.
>
> They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.
>
> Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were [252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called so'pas:n sa'sa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (pu'muk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

[48] Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39] Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41] On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 64c] Wukchumni

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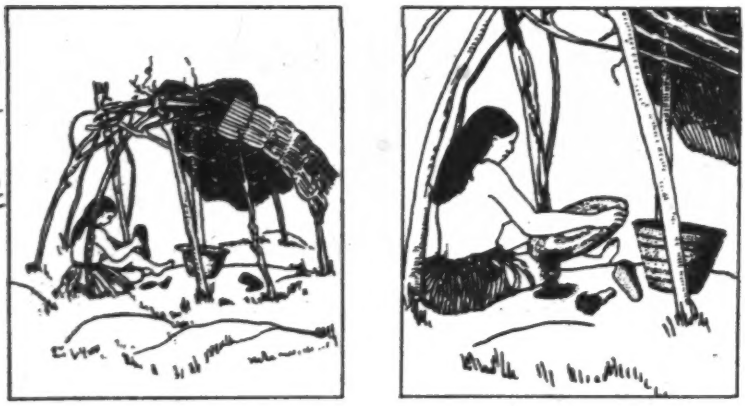

a b

Fig. 6. Wukchumni woman at bedrock mortar with seasonal shade. a, pounding acorns. b, sifting off coarse particles. (After photograph.)

252 Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with
262 salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
[263] of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by
[412] M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens. However, all agreed that deer meat was more often roasted than boiled, and that this was done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

267 Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
136 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawis. M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´pːs); minnows [?] (ta´kːč), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dorsal fin, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small flat fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowtail" (čadu´du); a small fish with lateral fins that "looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´tːč); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´wːs); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

252 Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
262 strips from an initial cut down the backbone. The back sinews were first removed as they were the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock salt which was in strong solution or pulverized. The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

323 Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
[262] favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[267] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests were watched at sundown; often three or four were located near each other when the returning

[263] [267] The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were
191 also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

222 insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the
252 larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and
262 put in a basket to boil. They were later
222 drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pːn) or mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihːt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´'utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ŏ´'išŭn.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mːtski´ša (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like parsley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hːč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[188] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

[137] The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´ai čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ka´tːk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´šta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass

[171]

[188] Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

222 salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going
252 out to clover patches in the spring and there
262 directly eating the lush tender clover growth led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Yauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida´ma ṭo´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide´dːk, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned katːk and čidedːk. Another plant, mane´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

[777] Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waša´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka´syːn, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

222 A´ptu (manzanita berries) were used only
262 for cider, although a few might be tasted "just for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake all the fruit to the ground rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

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[189] Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

[P. 126 b] Wukchumni

175 769 161 [361] [342] I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took [around the village], and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo [561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while younger ones [252] were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

175 769 514 525 The visitors brought with them their own mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

## Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 177 Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the [532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday)guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her hus-
[602] band's relatives. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[206] The first (bi´´i·č) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it
[177] only ten days. The second (aki´l·č) was the larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown,
[856] which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

## MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.---All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
● [252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[207] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.---A.M. described the women's dice game (huču´ša). The pieces used

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[206] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[207] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

M
103 Wobonuch sites:
131 14. sui´nawe
15. suina´weta mapa´dowːn: suinawe junction or fork
361 16. paha´wetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini´dewetᵘ: Sacata Flat
18. sasi´wetᵘ: fishing camp; given as sasi´we by D.S.
19. wiya´ma: Oak Mountain

## STRUCTURES

Y
342 Dwellings.---A house was called tomo´hːš, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu´wːts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The doorway of the house was called ti´šːč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

[352 513]

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

[352 513]

[252]

[533 524]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao´ːša) was played there.

343 251 Storehouses.---Little thatched storehouses (wiči´ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6] Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).---This was the usual
515 two-post structure described for the Central Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we [533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

## SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.---Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was [263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

● 252 In discussing the preparation of acorns,
262 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or colander, made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with [412] straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
184 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather fire fan.

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[7] Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

[P. 153g] DUMNA

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats
175 the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
175 and besides this there are plenty of other supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

## SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.---There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
[574] was completed, a "fandango" was given by the chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mːs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

222 Foods and beverages.---Pine nuts (pa´san)
262 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

252 Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
272 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tːl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nːt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanːt not identified].

411 Implements.---The plain bow (miko´n) was made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

227 For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wːsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pːč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 155 b] DUMNA

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mːs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pːs [262] (lake trout), poi´yem (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hːt (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čː´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´yːn) at bedrock mortars (tinːl), using a large pestle (če'; 412 pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nːm (ti´pːn, Gashowu).

## MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.---Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gen. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kːlao, pipe of cane [sikːl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wːš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

Blankets and clothing.---The rabbitskin 281 blanket (xeu´či; cexː´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.---Everyone was a good swimmer, 501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin 285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur- 484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wːč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A [758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

[P. 160a] Kechayi

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come
648 over the mountains: their chief had told them
to "go over and kill those people like birds."
252 While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi
surrounded the women's camp. One man came
closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the
acorns with their teeth and thought they were
eating. He went back and reported this. Sever-
al times he came close to spy and each time saw
the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he
"thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
648 early to knock down more acorns. They found a
series of stakes, with feather bunches (so n:l)
tied to their tops, which had been set up by
the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near
by, so they returned to camp and sent the women
off. The women fled across the river [San
Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men
went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was
located, and the Monachi were found asleep.
Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save
one man who smeared himself with his comrades'
blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this
man went back to his village and reported
events to his chief. The chief was very angry;
he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a
white man and was sent up into the mountains
with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on
this side of the ridge saw him; they came down
to him and asked him who he was. When it was
time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley,
his employer warned him not to make the trip
alone. But the man was anxious to get back
home and went anyway. The Monachi were am-
bushed along the way and killed the man and his
horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or
trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally
designate certain trees or grass spots as hers
and would "growl" if some other woman took the
products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and
would not be taken to the chief under ordinary
circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[626] women did grow into family feuds, which the
chief attempted to control by counsel. There
was a tacit, traditional ownership among fami-
lies, and in the larger sense among tribes, of
desirable land and its concomitant hunting,
fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family
"ownership" operated to the extent that a young
married woman continued to gather vegetable
products with her own mother, rather than with
her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely
led to inheritance of such plots, even though
inheritance was not defined in set terms by
any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

[48] The exact nature of these E.N. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

226 "all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Mean-
616 while the Tokelyuwich got out their "new"
796 acorns, of which they had not yet partaken. Members of each moiety cooked the foods which they were responsible for, and a general feast was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon also.

During the rest of the day games were played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

262 Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to
616 the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'ič) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken to him." The deer were then cut up, the head [252] roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

## LIFE CYCLE

### Birth and Infancy

843 Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from preference. After the birth occurred, the

726 here [Chukchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got
727 some whites who were running away. They brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

That was about the end of the fighting.
728 These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain [Major
648 Savage?] came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.[83]

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

## SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

### Daily Round

512 People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly
● [252] got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

264 All informants said that all members of a
512 family present ate simultaneously at meals.

[83] Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

264 512 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat; cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 593 512 If the women of a household were off getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 512 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R. Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

512 When men went out on a long hunt they returned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

512 513 352 Old and young went to bed at the same time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family, each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

## Clothing and Ornament

291 [281] Not much clothing was worn by the Chukchansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the [302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wildcat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84] Handbook, 519.

291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi
304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

## Foods

● 252 Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the
[481] proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

[512] Toward sundown the people went home and had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to
25 the drying rocks. When all were dried they
252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

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house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which came to the top) being kept separate, as was the next, and the third or last layer. The first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

●252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." [Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.] They [264] ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

262 This work took all day. Meanwhile some of
512 the men had been hunting and had brought home
224 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now.
[252] Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the meat, the men would cook it."[87] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

251 When acorns were plentiful a family could
[227] get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, said N.W. The entire family participated. White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

252 Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

[87] Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cooking depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It was customary to bake these cakes and distribute them to children before the mush-cooking was undertaken. [855]

251 Uncooked mush could be kept for some time, then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basketful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like dried putty." A similar basketful seen by Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Mush was often flavored by adding pulverized seeds of various kinds.

252 Seeds.---Seeds were parched on circular trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the seeds were then sifted through an openwork basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same shape as the basket on which the roasting was done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time. These seeds were got in the valley. [285 415]

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita cider for flavoring. Never was it used to flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to blow about, causing one to choke. (All present laughed at the informant's description of this.) The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it "smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin gathered a sackful this summer (1938). [263]

222 252 Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over their shoulders into burden baskets hung on their backs. Old women worked every day at this; it took about one day to fill the burden basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for

252 eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot coals, the coals later being sifted out by means of another basket. The parched seeds were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes, closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita cider.

222 A "grass" grows down toward the valley which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine black seeds. These are ripe in late summer (July-August).[88] The plants were pulled up, roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds dropped off; those that failed to were stripped off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were brought home, stored in the storehouse. [251]

[88] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

½ Lb. of acorn meal dough. - Analyst]

252 262 Greens.---Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.---Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.---Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type [222 was got up in the mountains when they went up for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.---Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were ready about August, and whole families went up 227] there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

[222 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed 481] the trees, knocked down the cones, while the women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the [137]

[89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to N.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; [824 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

262 Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog. [184] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

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251 three days. Fish was treated the same way. Any kind of meat could be dried, said J.R., and would keep for two or three months.

222 Grasshoppers, a wingless type, were got in the plain of the valley. They were caught by setting a fire in a circle, driving it inward. When the grass was burned over, the grasshoppers, killed but not cooked, were collected. [252] Taken home, they were roasted on a tray with live coals.

[252] Angleworms were got in winter and cooked in a soapstone dish. A little water was added, "just enough to make a little gravy." Some [251] people dried angleworms to keep for later use, a practice which J.R. and P.R. both decried.

222 Grubs of a small black butterfly[92] were
252 also cooked in a soapstone dish with a little hot water; they were not cooked long. These
[251] were usually dried on trays in the sun and stored in sacks for later use.

Yellowjacket grubs were dug from the ground after the live insects had been smoked out. Dried weeds were stuffed in their holes, lighted, and blown upon. The holes were about two inches across, the nests some twelve inches below the surface. A number of holes indicated many nests. The grubs were cooked in ashes, then sifted from the ashes in an open-twined basket.

263 Salt.---Salt was not always available to the Chukchansi. Their supply came from the [439] Paiute (probably Eastern Mono) of Nevada who came over about once a year to trade and even then did not always bring it. J.R. did not know where they obtained it. The salt was paid
263 for either by bead money or by baskets. If the
435 payment was a basket, this receptacle would be
439 slightly larger than the lump of salt for which it was exchanged. The basket, however, was thought to be the more valuable because of its durability: "it holds water, lasts a long time; it may look old but it will still hold water a long time." For a piece of salt say four by six inches, not many beads were paid; roughly, it would be about 50 cents in American money.

263 The salt so obtained was mixed with water, "just enough to stick it together," and put on ashes to heat, left overnight. When taken out it was hard, "just like some kind of rock." When struck, it broke in little pieces. The flavor, however, was changed by the treatment: "it was kind of weak, you know, not like it was before the burning."

263 According to N.W., rock salt was got from
439 the Eastern Mono who lived "the other side of Tuolumne, down Mono Lake way." They brought it from "the other side of Seventy-Seven, Basalt Meadow." They brought crystals about one-half

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[92] These are grubs of a small black butterfly which does not come every year; there were none this year (1938) but they were plentiful in 1936. They come very early in the spring on trees where new leaves are budding. [Possibly a moth? -- A.H.G.]

579 674 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

[492]

224 492 When they had horses here, they would go down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope [a ja´quima, presumably]. But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 674 Such raids were made occasionally in the summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

## Fishing

226 227 Chukchansi people used to go down to Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

[177]

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

[482]

[252]

226 four or five men. [No mention was made of a first salmon ceremony, but this may be what the informant, J.R., had in mind. -- A.H.G.]

252 251 The fish were dried at the camp. The implication is that men did all the work connected with salmon fishing, but it was not so stated. The fish were cleaned by slitting full length down to the backbone. For better drying, the flesh would be slit again so the sections would be thinner. As a supporting rack, slender sticks were laid across the lower limbs of trees or sturdy bushes. The fish were hung horizontally on these, the flesh hanging down each side. They were frequently turned around so the sun got at all parts. They were put in [489] a sack [skin?] and packed home with a tumpline. A man carried about two hundred pounds of fish. At home, the fish were taken out and hung on sticks across the roof of the storehouse, so they would not spoil. Such dried salmon were eaten before they got too dry: "they don't keep all winter," said J.R.

226 278 Creek fish, trout, were stupefied with the leaves of a plant called s'ikahi that grows in the lower foothills. The bush is six to eight feet tall, has leaves round and a bit larger than elderberry leaves. These were pounded, mixed with mud, and tossed on the water of pools. "It makes the fish sick. It kills them." But it did not affect the quality or flavor of the food: "it doesn't get into the meat." When the fish come to the surface, "everybody" came out with baskets and dipped them up. "You get the basket right under them, throw them out." Sometimes men and women caught them with their hand [presumably when the fish were stupefied, not by underwater diving as described for more southerly Yokuts].

These fish were small, three to four inches. They were cooked in hot ashes (not coals), which cooks but does not burn them. [25] 252 Some fish were eaten at once, for supper, but the majority were dried for later use.

251 In preparation for drying they might be cooked first or not [perhaps depending on weather conditions], though usually they were not. When drying, they were laid out [cleaned?] on flat rocks and took two or three days to dry. "They are dry just like a cracker." As much as half a sack of these would be put away by a family for winter consumption. Enough for a 252 meal was taken out, cooked in ashes, and then 251 pounded up to be eaten with acorn mush. "They are a little bitter, not much, when you eat them." said J.R. [There was a suggestion, not clearly stated, that fish meat was dried, pounded, and put away like pemmican.]

226 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which the fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep like that of the Wobonuch (see below). The Chukchansi also speared fish from a booth

412 322 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the handle was taken from another uncooked root.

515 Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head, baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was [262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes." 359] [The inference is that some varieties of soap- 171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 322 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 324 Cooking stones were made of soapstone, said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used [412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

411 Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of [237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

Yucca.---The yucca plants (o·ʻpaᵊdra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (poʻdos) the tall blossom buds (oʻbⁱ) and returned with them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one fire served for the group who divided up the yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

Piñon nuts.---Pine nuts (poneʻdiwᵃ, Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves into the trees and hooked and knocked down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, they were piled in a big heap where they steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called teʻᵘwa. They were superior to the local variety.

Acorns.---Fine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while they were still slightly green; this was accomplished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked them up and carried them home in burden baskets. All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

[163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

W Y [P. 223 a] Western Mono NS25

252 262 nut was held butt down on a small flat stone and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on rocks to dry, then stored in large covered baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

W Y [251]

Acorn mush.---The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained; granite was never used. The mush basket was always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

Y W [285]

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes were removed from the water and served from a big tray. They were eaten "just that way."

Y W [263]

A plant called paša was used to flavor acorn much.

Ya´´ap.---This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest.---This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

W Y [237]

Honey.---A bee (?) called in English "big stick bee" (ta´beko'ot, Waksachi) deposited honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks, or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

Fish.---These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish.---The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki´puš; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke´wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Wood-

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lake (Wukchumni and Gawia) or those of the slough region toward the lake in the tular.

Subsistence materials.---B.O. named the following animals, birds, etc., indicating which were totemic, which used for food and by whom. Many of the words are recognizable as Yokuts, particularly those for creatures not native to Waksachi mountain territory, e.g., soiyo´ti, antelope, e´bis, lake trout.

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Animals:

tuhu´ni: deer; everyone ate

soiyo´ti: antelope; only around flats; all ate (no mountain goat known)

u´nu: grizzly bear; many did not eat; a family totem (ibuk)

tuhu´bu: brown bear: many did not eat; family totem

kutu´huza´giti tuhu´bu: black bear; many did not eat; family totem

iša´buč: coyote; no one ate: "might be somebody's ibuk"; was a dream helper

tuka´wiš: bob-tailed wildcat: "might be somebody's ibuk"

a´otsa: fox; "maybe somebody's ibuk"

tru´nao: badger: some ate; not a totem

tsu´ka: cougar; dream helper for doctors and hunters

ta´bu: brush rabbit; all types of rabbits were eaten by everyone

te´a´wa: cottontail rabbit

to´hpol: jack rabbit; only around flats

wi´jia: squirrel [kind?]; everyone ate

poho´´ot: weasel; doctor's dream helper

pučuko´no: gopher; a secondary ibuk for people with Bear totem

a´čkɨt: mole; no one ate

ga´wa: wood rat; some people ate

to·´pi: dark gray wolf [mountain coyote]; no one ate

ti·´buk: beaver

naha´´ots: otter

Birds:

guiñwa´: eagle; chief's totem

kini´: duck hawk; a family totem

wubuyana: "chicken" hawk; a totem for some families (probably redtailed hawk)

kwiša´ra: unidentified, a big hawk; some old people ate

pikɨ digi: sparrow hawk; not a totem

wɨhutxai´ya: buzzard; no one ate

we´ja: condor; no one ate

hutu´´du: a "blue" owl; no one ate; a doctor's dream helper; there was also a "yellow" owl whose name B O. could not recall

pa´´ara: crow

ka´rapuč: raven

ča´k: blackbird

čiʷau´wi: another kind of blackbird

o´čo´č: magpie

hai´hai: Steller jay; old people ate

šai´go: blue jay; old people ate

hu·phu·´pna: flicker; old people ate

hara´ki: old people ate

´pana´tat: redheaded woodpecker; old people ate

soro´ki: "speckled woodpecker" (possibly Nuttall's woodpecker)

si·´čeč: redbreasted sapsucker; old people ate

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29



ing streams, a convenience and a pleasure which coincide almost exactly with the opportunity to hunt and to gather the various natural crops as they become available from month to month. The wet winter renders house life in the permanent settlement in a valley or on a river correspondingly attractive, and combines residence there with the easiest chance to fish the now enlarged streams on an extensive scale, or to pursue the swarms of arrived water fowl.

But this division was not momentous. The distances ranged over were minute. Fishing was not excluded among the hills. Deer, rabbits, and gophers could be hunted in the mild winter as well as in summer. And while acorns and other plant foods might be garnered each only over a brief season, it was an essential part of their use that much of their preparation as well as consumption should be spread through the cycle of the calendar.

Further, the food resources of California were bountiful in their variety rather than in their overwhelming abundance along special lines. If one supply failed, there were a hundred others to fall back upon. If a drought withered the corn shoots, if the buffalo unaccountably shifted, or the salmon failed to run, the very existence of peoples in other regions was shaken to its foundations. But the manifold distribution of available foods in California and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them prevented a failure of the acorn crop from producing similar effects. It might produce short rations and racking hunger, but scarcely starvation. It may be that it is chiefly our astounding ignorance of all the more intimate and basal phases of their lives that makes it seem as if downright mortal famine had been less often the portion of the Californian tribes than of those in most other regions of the continent. Yet, with all allowance for this potential factor of ignorance in our understanding, it does appear that such catastrophes were less deep and less regularly recurring. Both formulated and experiential tradition are nearly silent on actual famines, or refer to them with rationalizing abstraction. The only definite cases that have come to cognizance, other than for a few truly desert hordes whose slender subsistence permanently hung by a thread, are among the Mohave, an agricultural community in an oasis, and among the Indians of the lower Klamath, whose habits, in their primal dependence on the salmon, approximated those of the tribes of the coasts north of California.

The gathering of the acorn is like that of the pine nut; its leaching has led to the recognition of the serviceability of the buckeye once its poison is dissolved out; the grinding has stimulated the use of small hard seeds, which become edible only in pulverized form. The securing of plant foods in general is not separated by

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 262 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket, [251 343] pounded into flour, and cooked.

Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though described as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregularly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. [415 327] They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulosun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

[415 177] The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts implement, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush.

[252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*.

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Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auburn roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lemon Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E, MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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Acorn granaries and a Chukaimina Indian woman in Squaw Valley about 1890. Note that her hair is bobbed in mourning. The Yokuts Indians were dying in such great numbers during the 1880's and '90's that few photos taken during that period show a woman without bobbed hair. Photo furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

## THE PREPARATION OF ACORNS

252 When she decided to prepare acorns, (*Putus*, poo'-tus), the *moke* (mo'-ke) took a flat bottomed basket (*kot'-chow*) of about half-bushel capacity, placed it under the granary, and pushed apart the grass and branches, allowing the acorns to slide from the granary into it. When the basket was full, the branches and grass were replaced, sealing the granary as it was before.

252 412 The acorns were taken to a cool, shady place and there were hulled. The hulling was done by means of a rock. This rock was generally a nicely shaped stone of a size to be easily grasped in the hand and known to collectors as a mano (Spanish word for hand stone), but called *ko'-dis*, or *wik'-sid*, by the In-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 N529 Yokuts N529



dians. This same stone was used as a rubbing stone and was generally flat on opposite sides. The ends were kept rough by pounding them with a jagged rock. This was done so that the mano would not slip off of the acorn while it was being hulled. 252 412

A second rock was often used in the hulling, it being embedded in the soil in front of the worker and having drilled in it one or more shallow holes. The acorn was placed upright with the point in this hole and the large end struck with the rough end of the mano. A slight tap was sufficient to break the hull loose, and it fell away from the acorn. The hulled acorns were placed in a basket, the process being carried on until several gallons of hulled acorns had been obtained.

The sweet valley acorn had a very thin hull, which often split while drying. It was not necessary to crack them with a mano. The cracked hulls were pulled off with the fingers. The other hulls were removed with the teeth. As these acorns were badly eaten by moth larva, they were smoked after being hulled. Holes were drilled in them. They were then strung on hemp strings like beads and hung from the inner framework of of the house where the smoke from the fire prevented the moths from depositing their eggs. The acorns were next taken to a mortar. These mortars, along the streams, often existed in the large earth-bound rocks, and remain today as almost the sole evidence of many Indian village sites. 252 [412]

Away from earth-bound rocks, portable stone mortars were used. Some of these were excavated in very rough boulders. Others were nicely shaped inside and out. A few were so finely shaped and polished as to appear to have been made on a potter's wheel. In primeval days many wooden mortars were used. Pioneer white San Joaquin Valley settlers tell us that when they arrived in Yokuts territory the trunks and large limbs of fallen oak trees were cut full of holes where the Indians pounded acorns. A double handful of acorns was thrown in the mortars, which the Indians called *puh'-wus. Pahd'-uh-we*, the pestle, a slender stone, was grasped between the hands and the end brought down on top of the acorns. Repeated blows pulverized the greater portion of the acorns, which, by reason of curing in the granary, were dry and brittle. 252 412

Sifting of the pounded acorns was done with a flat tray called *ki-o'-to*. The powdered material was brushed from the mortar onto the tray by means of *tro'-kote*, a brush made of 252 415

[text continues on p. 111]

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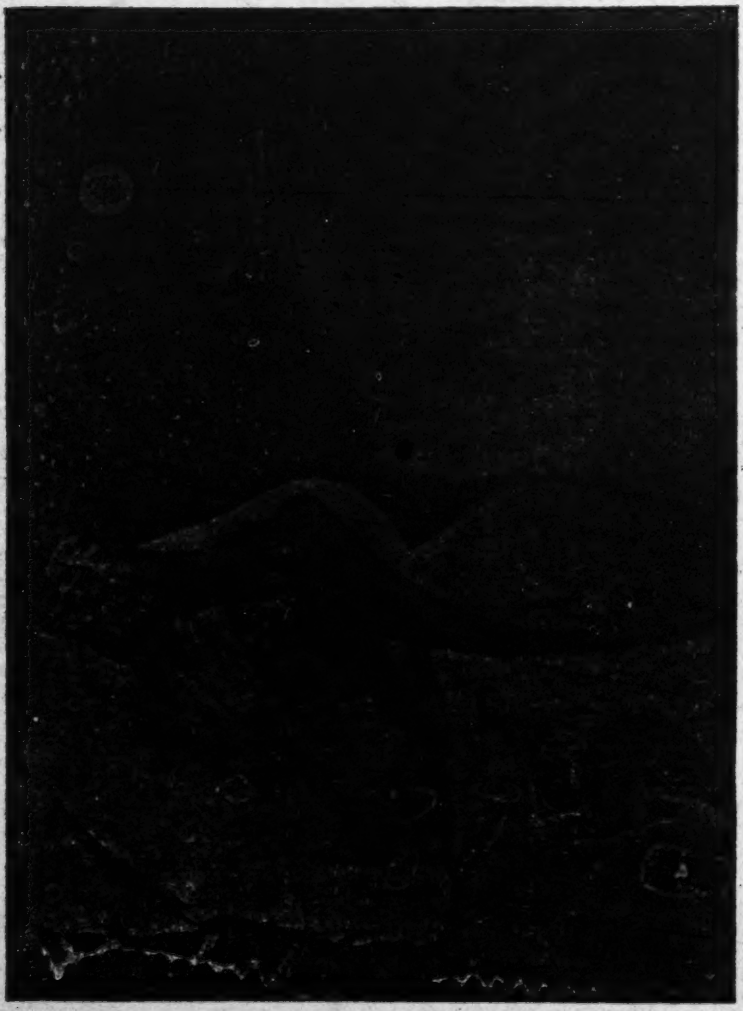

A Chukaimina woman preparing to pound acorns. Photo taken about 1900 by Mrs. A. D. Overholtzer, of Squaw Valley Corners.

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Weh-puk'-is showing how acorn flour is leached. A shallow basin is scooped in the sand of a stream bed and lined with wild grapevine leaves. It is then filled with acorn flour. Hot water is poured over the flour until the bitterness has been leached into the sand below. The water is poured on a grass brush so that the flour will not be washed away.

soap-root husk. The tray was held with the edge over the mortar and shaken.

The coarse particles rolled into the mortar and the fine material remained on the tray. The fine material was shaken into a separate basket. This process was repeated until the acorns were reduced to a powder of about the consistency of coarse flour. This was then taken to the stream, where the bitter tannin was leached from it. 252

A hole was made in the sand, by the stream, lined with leaves, generally from the wild grapevines, and the acorn flour poured into it. Water was heated in a separate basket by means of hot rocks and poured over the flour. This process was repeated several times, the flour being tasted for sweetness after

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Leached acorn flour and equipment for handling acorns. Foreground: Cakes of leached acorn flour, resting in a sand basin, lined with grapevine leaves.

Center, left to right: First: A grass brush over which the hot leaching water is poured. It prevents the flour being washed away when the water is poured.

Second: A soaproot husk brush used in brushing flour from mortars and for many purposes about an Indian camp.

Third: A looped acorn mush stirrer. It is made of a green oak limb and is used for stirring the cooking mush and for removing the cooking rocks from the mush and replacing them in the fire.

Fourth: An acorn flour sifting tray with a cake of leached acorn flour on it.

Rear: Cooking baskets; at the left is shown a lightning pattern, at the right the gopher snake pattern in a milkweed fiber carrying net.

each leaching. Count of the leachings was sometimes kept by laying aside a short stick each time. Leaching was quite successful in removing the bitterness, even from the most bitter mountain acorns.

The leaching being done, the material was covered with a piece of deer skin (*hoey'-in chud'-way*) and left to harden. After it had dried, the cake, or loaf, was lifted from its bed, the leaves removed from the bottom of it, and it was taken to the house.

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Wah-puk'-in showing the method of heating water and cooking acorn gruel with hot rocks. Rocks are removed from the fire with green wooden tongs and dipped quickly into the small basket of water at the right. The resulting flash of steam removes the coating of ashes and burned acorn gruel. The rock is then dropped into the large basket of water or acorn gruel and is stirred about with the looped acorn stirrer. When the rock has lost its heat it is lifted from the basket in the loop of the stirrer and replaced in the fire. The design on the basket at the left shows "coming night." The one at the right shows "measuring worm."

At the present time we find the Indians lining the holes in the sand with cloth, generally an empty sugar sack, but we are assured by most old Indians and pioneer whites that in early days only leaves were used.

It is of particular interest to note here that *Wahumchah* is positive that the old-time *Yowlumne* lined the leaching holes in the sand with cloth. As the southern Kern County tribes *did* make cloth, it is more than probable that his statement is correct.

Much acorn bread was eaten raw from the loaf. As needed, pieces were broken off and given to the children, or eaten by their elders. [264]

From this cake was made a thick acorn soup, or mush. By the Wukchumne Yokuts it was called *ta'-pin*. To make this

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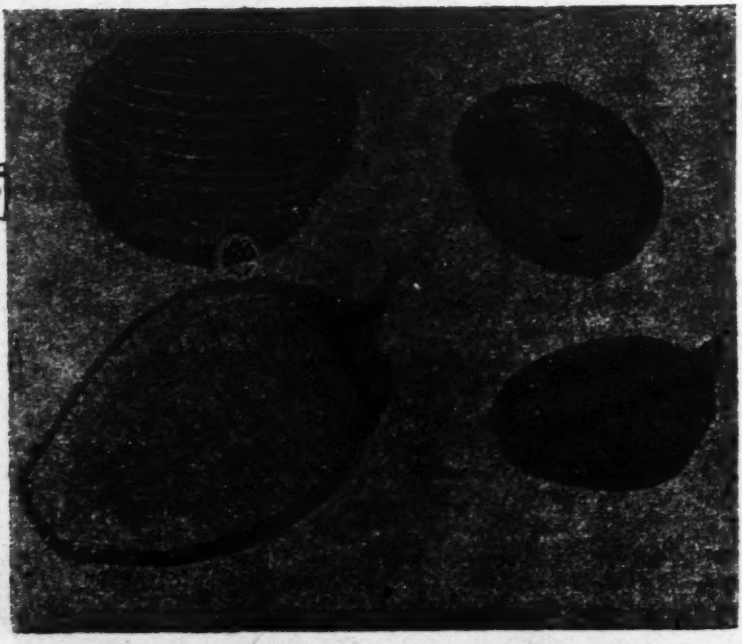

Four Yokuts harvesting and camp wicker utensils. The two at the top are toh'-mouks or simple colanders. Those at the bottom are seed beaters. With one of these in the right hand a woman was able to beat the seeds of oats, wild rice and other standing grasses into a large wide mouthed basket held under her left arm.

mush, the cake was pulverized in a mortar and placed in a basket. Water was added, and the whole cooked quite thoroughly by means of hot rocks (*chak-toy'-tuh*). The rocks were placed in the basket by means of two green sticks used as tongs and removed from it by a looped stick (*shi'-ow*) which was also used to stir the soup. When first removed from the fire by means of the green tongs, the rocks were quickly dipped in a basket of water. The flash of steam caused by this removed from the surface of the hot rock most of the ashes and burned acorn meal with which they were coated. The Wukchumne used soapstone cooking rocks, claiming they were superior to any others. Much of the cooked mush was allowed to harden into a loaf, or cake, of bread.

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manner as are baskets of acorns. During the season of 1931 I saw one *moke* (mo'-ke, Indian Woman) carrying approximately one hundred pounds of blackberries which she had picked during a short afternoon.

When the rancheria was reached, formerly the berries were placed upon a tanned deer-skin and allowed to dry. Today they are placed on a canvas. During the first several days that they are subject to the sun they are turned several times, so that the drying is equal on all sides. If the berries are stored in this state they will mold, so an additional treatment is necessary.

When the berries are completely dried, they are placed in a basket and taken to the mortars. There they are pounded into a coarse meal. This meal is then mixed with water and kneaded into a thick paste. The Wukchumne mash them into a paste before they are completely dry. This paste is patted into cakes and again put out to dry. Very little water is used in this process. The cakes will dry through in one afternoon. They are then gathered up and stored away in baskets inside the house.

It should be appreciated that this is really a clever way of handling blackberries. Had the uncured berries been mashed and made into cakes, they would have fermented before the cakes were thoroughly dry, but drying them in the natural state, and then pulverizing them, and adding only enough water to form them into cakes prevented fermentation.

The dried cakes required final preparation before they entered the jam state. They were again pounded in a mortar and the resulting coarse meal placed in a basket. Water was added and the whole cooked with hot rocks. The result was a blackberry jam which did not differ greatly from jam made by white persons.

The writer has noticed that the local Indians, in making jam, skim from the top of the basket the most of the seeds, which being lighter than the jam, collect there very soon after the cooking begins. Whether such refined practice was common in the old days is problematical. At any rate, the smearing of juvenile faces with blackberry jam did not originate in this territory with the coming of the first white youngsters.

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the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke' em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak*, I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name.

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake.

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things.

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko*, (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt*, the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world.

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool*. It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer.

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race.

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day.

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29



436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much [illegible]quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After r[illegible]g the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29



pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

*Friday, 29.*—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

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various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Jousps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jousps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]